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(3)
3.

THE
Revolution Justified,
FROM
PRINCIPLES
OF
REASON and *SCRIPTURE*:
OR,
A New DISCOURSE
Concerning
The Nature of *Government* and *Subjection*
in Free STATES.

In a Letter to a Friend.

He removeth Kings, and setteth up Kings, Dan. 2. 21.

As a roaring Lyon, and a ranging Bear, so is a wicked Ruler over the poor People. The Prince that is without Understanding is also a great Oppressor, Prov. 28. 15, 16.

As free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God, 1 Pet. 2. 16.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *S. Bantyp*, at the Ship near the Royal
Exchange in Cornhil, 1697.

THE
REVOLUTION ENLIGHTENED
FROM
PRINCIPLES
OF
REASON and SCRIPTURE
OR
A NEW DISCOURSE
Concerning
The Rights of Government and Subjection
in THE STATES

In a Letter to a Friend.

By JOHN LOCKE, Esq.
Of the Middle Temple, Barrister at Law.
The second Edition, with Amendments, and a new Preface.
LONDON, Printed by J. Sturges, at the Black-Sign in St. Dunstons Church, near Fleet-Street, 1706.

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TO THE
READER.

WHEN upon this Letter's being determin'd to the Press, I prefix'd the short Advertisement to it, I thought it then as much as was needful: Nor did I design to have troubled the Reader further. But some new Things since offering themselves as proper, I hope I shall be excus'd in what I here add; and the rather, because of some Passages I have to present to the Reader, from a certain Reverend Person, written on the Occasion of this Discourse.

He is pleas'd to think, That now especially, on the Juncture of this long desired Peace, it may have its Effect on some Persons; That it may more firmly establish many of the King's Friends, and convince the more Moderate and Considerate of his Enemies.

And what true *English-Man*, and especially, *as he adds,* what true Church-Man, would not earnestly endeavour, that all the Well-disposed in the Adverse Party, might now at last come in, and enjoy in common the Blessings which God hath handed to us by His present Majesty? Who would not wish them for their own sakes, that Ease and Serenity of their Minds, which a Vertuous and Prosperous King yields to such, as look on him to be, as he is, the Guardian of Church and State? Who would have them, through a most unhappy Mistake, contribute their

To the Reader.

Parts to the Unhinging all again, and reducing us to those Extremities which we tremblingly expected from the late Reign? Who would not rejoyce to have a Hand in Preventing their Guilt, and the too Probable Mischief that may enlue their Good Meaning, not only to us, but to themselves? And who would have them disgusted with that Person, who, upon a right Understanding, should be Dearer to them than their own Lives? As I firmly believe he is to great Numbers of his Subjects.

And yet (*goes he on*) though his own Vertues challenge a great Share of Passion from us, it is not only this, but the Church and Nation, so many Millions of Men and Chrissians their being Blessed in Him, that raiseth Love and Honour to its Just Pitch, and makes them thus kindly overflow in us: Nor can we ever so relinquish this Eternal Duty to our Country and our Religion, as to Abandon them to the Will of any Man.

Thus far that Pious and Reverend Person: And certainly what he writ, hath as great Weight as Elegance in it. It is a particularly Unhappy Thing, that so many Persons of our Excellent Church, should be thus Divided, or Estranged from the rest of their Brethren; And that what the one Rejoyce in, the great Bulk and Body of the Nation, the other should so vehemently Resent and Oppose; to the loss not only of Livelihood and Content, and in some of Life, but to the being naturally Disaffected, and imbitter'd perhaps, against all those Noble and Worthy Patriots, and those most Pious, Learned, and Reverend Church-Men, which have shewed themselves with the greatest Forwardness and Zeal, in Assisting or Complying with this most Happy Preservation and Deliverance of our Nation: Affording at the same time the greatest Advantage, and ground of Calumniation imaginable to the Enemies of our Church and State; and casting together with it the greatest

To the Reader.

greatest Slurr and Disgrace, on both the Government and Religion of their Native Country; on what the Parliament and the Church with so much Wisdom and Heroick Steadfastness have done. And all this, as we do absolutely believe, from a mistaken Zeal, and an unfortunate sort of Warmth and Height in their Temper, and Adherence to some Extreams, beyond the Bounds, and Free and Natural Obligations of either Reason or Religion.

And certainly, if, again, it be duly considered, what Advantage those of the Church of Rome, on the one hand, have received from our High Doctrine of Passive Obedience; what Artifices there have been to Screw it up and Promote it; how they have laugh'd in their Sleeves, and were serving their Ends on us by it in the late Reign; and what a Dreadful Precipice it brought us to. And then that we have Exposed our selves, on the other, to such Dissenting Parties as are amongst us, and who have always thought us Over-obsequious and Extravagant in the Asserting of this Doctrine; to say nothing of the Scandal given lately to many of our own Members on the account of it. I say, when we duly consider these, and such other things, we shall have no reason, I hope, to be fond of Excesses, but to come to a due Poize in the Point before us.

But I must not stay too long in an Introductory Preface to so short a Discourse; and shall only therefore add, That whatever some may be pleased to imagine, the Doctrine which is here aimed at, is the real Safety of a Governour Himself, as well as of the State; and with but Moderate Caution, will prevent such Commotions, and Fatal Revolutions, as under the Highest Strains of this Pretended Doctrine of Absolute Non-Resistance, are yet apt otherwise very frequently to happen. But with a Tolerable Management, the Prince, as I said before, and this without the Temptation to such Arbitrary Exorbitancies, is secure on his Throne under this Principle, it being Naturally, as well as otherwise, so great an Offence to the

To the Reader.

the Body, without a Case of Extremity, to do Violence to the Head. And he is only hereby steer'd to his own Safety, and that of the People, from the greatest Extravagancies.

These are some of the Grounds, and chief Considerations, which have caused the making Publick of this Brief and Plain Letter; an easie general Management, and not Accuracy, being aim'd at in it: If it may be candidly accepted, and of any Use to the World, it is the great Thing sought and intended by its Author.

A

A Letter to a Friend, &c.

S I R,

IT hath been several times in my Mind to write my Free Thoughts to you concerning the Nature of our *English* Government ; and the Measures of that Allegiance we owe unto our Kings ; and the rather, because of your intimating to me, that in a small thing of mine on another Occasion, I was thought by some not to go to the Bottom of things. I confess my Design was not then to go to the Bottom ; but to offer such Hints as after all that had been writ largely before, I thought might be sufficient in that Affair.

But since your self seemed to joyn in the same Opinion, and to think that it had been better to have gone deeper ; and what is more still, since the Circumstances of our Nation, as to some Persons, seem still to require a plain further Account, if it be possible, of these State Points ; I shall, though with all Candour, yet also with much Freedom, and no manner of Reserves, express my full Mind as to this matter ; and that chief Ground which I have all along my self acted upon, and which was ever my sense, as I believe your self can bear witness, even when that great Doctrine of *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* was preached at the highest.

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It is not in the main any new thing I am about to offer : so far from that, that as it hath been publish'd by several, so I believe if Persons would freely speak their Minds, there are many of our Church, and those perhaps as Wise and as Good as any others, that are heartily for it. For there is one Prejudice that I am willing to remove, and early to prevent in this Paper ; which is, That I would not have it thought that this is written by one disaffected to our Church, or sober Principles ; but that he hath as true a Veneration for the Excellency of its Constitution, and doth as much wish its Glory and Prosperity in the World as any others whatsoever : I am not for Extreams ; but think Sobriety, Wisdom, and a true Christian Charity, doth well in every thing. And if there are any Persons that can receive Benefit by what I shall write, and Satisfaction on the same Grounds with my self, and that you think this Trifle worth communicating to the Publick, you have my free Leave, and Wishes of its Prevalency and Success.

I shall then without more to do fall to my Business, and lay down first some Preliminary Matters I think good to premise on this Subject.

The first is, That there is no Man living more heartily for the Honour and Reverence which is due to Government than my self ; more sensible of its Benefit and Necessity in the World ; and how much it is Establish'd of God in Scripture. And of all Governments I have a particular Honour for Monarchy and our own ; as that perhaps which, like our excellent Church, all things considered, is the best in the World. Monarchical Government I look upon in the general to be of all others
the

the most Natural, and the most Desirable : It hath God for its Pattern, and the Theocracy of the Universe ; with that glorious Sun which shines singly in the Heavens giving Light and Warmth to the Inhabitants of the Earth. I condemn not any other Lawful and Useful Forms of Humane Government ; but I cannot but give the Preference unto this ; and am apt to believe, whatever some may imagine or fear, that there will not any other be found agreeable in haste to the *English* Genius and Constitution.

I lay down Secondly this Maxime, which none I hope, notwithstanding any thing I have before said, will be so Unreasonable as to deny, That Kings, and so all Governours, whether you take it in a way of Reason and Nature, or of Divine Institution, are for the People, (to rule them really for their Good, and according unto Right) and not the People for Kings. It is the true *Salus Populi*, the true and absolute Publick Good, and Publick Right, that is the Supream Law and Measure of Government, and not the Tyranny or Ambition of an Exorbitant Governour.

It will be readily indeed own'd, that they are the most Illustrious Part, or rather Head of the Body the People ; and that they have a Sacred Stamp and Character upon them ; and both challenge and require the highest Civil Veneration and Obedience : Like the Image which appeared to *Nebuchadnezzar* in his Dream, they are the True Head of Gold to that Body of Silver, Brass, and of Iron, together with the Clay, which was closely related, yet inferiour to it. But to think that God erected Kings for themselves, or that the People are govern'd for the meer Glory and Service of their Princes, and not for their own sake chiefly, and a general Good, is too gross an Absurdity, both in Nature and Religion, to
want

want or deserve the least Confutation. Their Being thus the Glorious *Heads* of the People, will shew sufficiently the Relation they have to them; and that they are set for the Safety, the Honour, Peace, and Direction of the whole.

I do willingly notwithstanding premise next, The Difficulty as well as Honour of Government; and that in such a Crowd of Business as Princes are in, the Variety of Humours they have to please, the High Station they maintain and support, and amidst so manifold partly Diversions and Temptations, and what is more than these, the Abuses and Corruptions which attend often Subordinate Ministers and Officers of the Crown, it is extream hard in such an Age as this to steer the Chariot of Government in a strait Line: And provided that the great and common safety of the whole be in the main carried on, and sincerely intended, we are to look with great Candour upon some lesser Irregularities and Defects; and especially to be careful not with a sower and seditious Mind to reproach or ridicule them.

And here I cannot but be reminded of what the Ingenious Mr. *Glanvill* hath excellently well observ'd, in his smart *Reflections on Drollery and Atheism*, with respect to this matter. They are bound up in the last Edition of his *Sadducismus Triumphatus*; and what I cite from him is p. 13. He is speaking of some *Quibbling Debauchees*, and other ill-minded Persons, as Enemies of Religion and Government; and with respect to the latter speaks particularly thus:

“ For Government, its Influence depends upon the Reverence its Rulers have from the People; and while they are Men there will be Miscarriages in Publick Affairs and Managements of State: And if all the Slips and Imperfections, all the Mistakes and Faults of the
“ Supream

“ Supream Ministers of Rule be tattled and aggravated
 “ among the Herd; the Government will thereby be ex-
 “ posed to the Scorns of the Rabble; and lose a great
 “ part of its Force with its Reverence. And in this it
 “ suffers infinitely from the Drolling Phantasticks, who
 “ blow in the Sores till they have rankled them with their
 “ Malicious and Poysonous Breath; and shoot Libels at
 “ the Government till they have made deep Wounds in
 “ its Reputation and Reverence, and turn’d every Tongue
 “ into a Weapon of War against it. Thus do these
 “ *Chams* discover their Fathers Nakedness, and rejoyce to
 “ publish the Shame of those whose Faileurs and Infir-
 “ mities Loyalty, Prudence, and regard to the Publick
 “ Quiet, should oblige them to conceal.

Thus far he. Upon which the profoundly Pious and
 Learned Dr. *More* hath this Advertifement; and I had
 my Eye particularly upon it, and perfectly agree with
 him in it; p. 25.

“ What the Writer of this Letter delivers in this Se-
 “ ction is worth the most serious Consideration of all
 “ Men that are not so well affected to Government as they
 “ ought to be: whose Authority is certainly most *sacred*,
 “ and their *Rule*, if it be *tolerable, exceeding commendable*;
 “ those in high places having such strong Temptations
 “ from the Flatteries and Circumventions of cunning Pa-
 “ rasites, and forcible attempts of *Things*; whereby they
 “ are attack’d daily, and too often drawn into Mistakes
 “ before they be aware: Upon which for others to insult,
 “ is a most salvage and inhumane thing, and quite con-
 “ trary to the Law of Charity, which is the Indispensa-
 “ ble Rule of a Christian, &c. And a little after I repeat
 it again, and indeed I have often and often thought of it,
 That Princes, and Grand Ministers of State, that may
 seem to acquit themselves tolerably well, do really acquit

themselves exceeding well, considering the high Temptations they have, and are worthy of all Loyal Affection and Honour. How highly then are those Princes to be honoured, and sincerely lov'd, who Rule well ; and have a real tender Regard to the Peace and Welfare of all their Subjects.

I observe Fourthly, and that as under the last, with all readiness of mind, the wicked Temper and Principles, and Actions suitable, of some Persons with respect to Government : And that as Princes have oftentimes prov'd exorbitant and excessive, and in a barbarous sort used and oppressed the Subject ; so have these in their turn, in a way of Faction and Rebellion, and this in divers Places, and under different Religions, done exceeding wicked and abominable things. And as I am altogether against Tyranny and Oppression, so am not I in the least less, but rather more against the evil and barbarous Licentiousness and Rebelliousness of the People. But so hard is it in some Cases for either these to restrain their Factiousness and Fury, or for Princes in others their Tyranny and Exorbitancy.

I observe chearfully now the Excellency and the Happiness of our own present Prince and Government ; by the means of which, though in the midst of Difficulties, we enjoy the greatest Good, and avoid the greatest Evil which can well befall us : And when we seriously put our Peace, Laws and Religion, as it were, in one Scale, together with the Danger and Violence we escape, and whatsoever Hardships and Difficulties we have felt, or that lyes upon us in the other ; however these may be heavy in themselves, and as to many persons truly pityable, yet certainly upon the whole there is no comparison in the Ballance ; and the former must infinitely preponderate in the Judgment and Libration of any sober and unprejudiced

judiced persons. And let Friends or Enemies find the utmost Defects or Abuses which they can, in any parts or wheels of the Administration, yet there is that Conduct, Faithfulness, and Success, in the main of our happy State and Government, as deserves the highest Duty, Gratitude and Veneration, to be paid to our good and excellent Prince: And we have only to pray, that we may be long safe and happy under him. But that I may not be thought to flatter or design, I shall say no more on this Topick; or at least shall defer it to some other place.

Let me intimate next, that 'tis out of no undue or malicious Prejudice to the Late K. 7. that I am taking the pains to compose the Letter I am here writing. I hope the Candid will interpret it to be done in a way of Zeal to the known Laws and Rights of our Country, and that most sacred Truth and Religion we profess, and not otherwise out of any Ill-will to that Unfortunate and Unhappy Prince: The Disasters that have been upon him, were in their Original far from being sought or desired by our selves; and in a private way, or so far as is consistent with the security of the Publick, there are no persons of Temper, but what, I dare say, very unfeignedly wish him the greatest Happiness and Felicity here and for ever.

It will be time now to gather closer to the Business we have in hand; and to observe Sixthly, That all Enormities and Oppressions, under any Government, flow from nothing but the Corruption and Degeneracy of the World: Were Mankind such in any measure as they ought to be, Princes would either be themselves Just, or at least restrain'd from all violent and arbitrary Excesses: For they would be destitute of Instruments to serve their ill Ends, and could do nothing against the Number and prevailing Right of the Generality. It is ill and weak

Men some way joyning with an evil unrighteous Government, that cause it to prevail and prosper in its Tyrannies.

But to come nearer to that which is design'd still : I observe lastly, That the Gospel, or Christianity, was never intended to evacuate any just Rights Publick or Private of Mankind. As the Apostle said in that other Case, *Do we then make void the Law through Faith ? God forbid : Yea we establish the Law, Rom. 3. 31.* So the Gospel of our Saviour is so far in reality from destroying any real Rights of Men, that it doth the most effectually that it is possible confirm and establish them, and all Publick Rights and Freedoms so much the more especially, as by how much in their Nature and Consequences they exceed those that are Private. In a word, how much Justice and Equity, with all Faithfulness in general, is enjoyn'd and establish'd in the New Testament is sufficiently known unto all of us.

When our Saviour said to those Carpers and Watchers for an Advantage, *Matth 22. 21. Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesars, and unto God the things which are Gods :* Had there been occasion, or had he thought good to speak of those matters, I doubt not but he would also have exhorted Governours to render unto the People the things which do likewise belong unto the People. Not to take notice that Justice towards these is a part of those things which belong to Almighty God himself : And the Invading the just Rights of Men, by any Publick Governour, is the Invading of the Rights, the Laws and Religion of God himself. And we are commanded in this place to *render unto Caesar the things which are Caesars ;* such as are really his, but not to give him withal either the Rights of God, or Liberties of the People. We may observe the just Wisdom, and excellent Temper of our Saviours Answer,

King

King *Charles* the First, we may remember, in that last Speech of his, after all the hard and barbarous measure which he met with, exhorted the Men of those times, even the whole Kingdom, and that with Wisdom and Justice, that both God, the King, the Church, and the People might have their *Dues* ; acknowledging a Right and a Due to all : Which if some that have since succeeded him had observed, they had been far from those Troubles and Misfortunes in the World which they have since known. But to return to the Scriptures.

We meet there with this other general Exhortation and Precept ; *Render therefore to all their Dues* : All manner of Dues whatsoever ; according unto the Right and Law of that place which you shall live in : For as to the particulars and circumstances of these, Christianity determines them not ; but leaves it to be decided by the Rights and Customs of particular places. This is spoken, I acknowledge, upon the occasion of the Rights, and with respect to those Dues which we owe to Governours : But we shall find the Precept afterwards enlarged. And I will here appeal unto the Reason and Ingenuity of Men, nay if it were of violent Governours themselves, whether they think not this also an Obligation upon themselves to render unto their Subjects their proper Dues ? And whether in Conscience, and according unto the Christian Law, they are not equally bound to universal Equity with the meanest of the People ? Nay, being in such High places, and exalted unto so much Honour above them, and the *Vice-gerents* of God, if they ought not to imitate the Glorious Fountain of their Power, and be even Lights and Examples unto others ? For as they are Christians, they can refuse none of the Laws of their great Master ; and of him who is stil'd, *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords* : And in short, all imaginable Truth, Justice and Equity, doth oblige them. But

But to return to our Passage from H. Scripture; we shall find its Intent the best from the whole : *Render therefore unto all their dues* ; such as are really, and of Right belonging to them : *Tribute to whom Tribute is due* ; that is to say, after such a manner, and in such a way, as according to the Right and Law of the Place is due to him ; and so as readily you ought to acknowledge and discharge it : And no body can go about to interpret it any otherwise ; for we are not hereby obliged to be oppressed even to Ruine and Destruction, and that contrary to our Rights and Legal Establishments ; but to render that which is due and legal. And so the-like is to be said for what follows ; *Custom to whom Custom* ; so far as by the Right and Custom of the Place it is due to him : And so *Fear to whom Fear, Honour to whom Honour* : A due sort of Awe, Reverence and Obedience, even heartily and affectionately, to all Rulers and Governours, and Men in Place and Authority, according unto the Rights and Measures of the Government which we live under. As no one can say, but that this matter is very different in *Poland*, and in *Turky* ; and so in other places suitable to their proper Frame and Establishments.

But let us hear the Apostle a little farther ; *Owe no man any thing, but to love one another*. This is a universal Precept, reaching all persons high and low : And though there were not any Christian Princes then, yet when they came to be so, as such, they are oblig'd by these Laws, and to be just, kind and faithful unto all ; as near as may be, to owe no Man any thing ; but as to love the Brethren, universal Mankind, and the Church of God, so particularly to be kind and just to their Subjects ; and by Force and Violence to alter none of their proper Rights and Privileges : And all this upon the common score of Christianity and Justice ; but much more, if their Oath, Gratitude

Gratitude and Honour, repeated Promises, and publick Declarations, with the highest Tyes and Obligations imaginable, are upon them for it.

Let us hear King *David* the Son of *Jesse*, the Man who was raised up on high, the Anointed of the God of *Jacob*, and sweet Psalmist of *Israel*; when he spake in his last words, by the Spirit of God, and his word was in his Tongue. *The God of Israel said, the rock of Israel spake to me, He that ruleth over men must be just, (not affect to be call'd, but be really so) Ruling in the fear of God: And he shall be as the light of the morning, when the Sun riseth; even a morning without clouds; (so far as respects his own Government) as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining after rain.* All things, as to himself, shall prosper and flourish: It shall be the fault of the People, and of the Constitution, if he Rule not well; 2 Sam. 23. 1, &c.

Having premis'd this in a general way, before I proceed further, I shall now plainly represent what I drive at; which is, That in some certain Cases Princes may be Resisted and Restrain'd; with the Ground I go upon in this matter; which is that of the Holy Scripture, and of a *Total Subversion*. I do most readily own, and have already done it, the Sacredness and Authority of Kingly Government; nay, and not only so, but that very great Things are to be born for Order, and for Peace sake; and out of a Regard and Reverence to it. It is not some particular Acts of Oppression, or much Male-Administration of Affairs that ought to move Subjects to right themselves: There is abundance to be born out of Reverence, as I have said, to a settled Government, and for the Publick Peace: And 'tis one of the worst Tempers, and a wicked Character, to be of a Proud, Factious, and Turbulent Spirit; easily to be a Mover of
Intestine

Intestine Commotions, and inclinable to publick Seditions and Disturbances. A Nation either is, or at least ought to be, extremely concerned, and hard set, before it come to this Remedy.

But when it is evident and apparent that the Ruine of our Laws, and Overthrow of our Religion, and that by false, violent, and unjust Means, is notoriously struck at ; and this in such Circumstances as to leave us no other Course or Remedy to fly to ; either lose your Fundamental Freedom and Liberties, and be universally overrun, nay persecuted and oppressed, (as this was the Case and Prospect before us in the late Reigns) or else defend by some Course your Laws and Priviledges ; (I suppose, you see, firm and legal Establishments, and undoubted Rights on the side of the People, and certain Terms and Boundaries between the Prince and the Subject ; and of such a Constitution of Government I speak, and not of any other in this Paper) I say, in such a Case as this, and where no other Means are left to be used, I shall not doubt but that the People, if they are Wise and Unanimous, may stand upon their just Safety and Defence ; and if the Prince be persevering, oblige him by force to hearken unto Reason ; and by fitting Cautionary Measures, tye up his Hands from Tyranny for the future : Nay, if they shall find it necessary for their Safety, wholly lay him aside ; especially if he shall administer such a Ground and Occasion, by a wilful Abdication, and Recession from his People, and from the Government, as did the Late King ; and when all Circumstances at Home and Abroad shall call and invite to it.

And now I would have any one to consider in Reason and Conscience, and without consulting his Passion or Prejudice, and some high Notions, what he hath to say against this procedure. If he stick at the H. Scripture,

ture, and think that this is contrary to our Duty there, besides the Hints I have already given; I shall afterwards, I hope, sufficiently clear the matter as to that; and evince to him that the Scripture never designed to render Princes Tyrants, such especially as are Christian, nor yet the People Slaves; even when they have publick, undoubted Rights and Priviledges on their side: But that there ought to be acknowledged a strict Justice from one to t'other; and nothing as to the main attempted for the violent overthrow of either.

For what concerns the Oath we take unto our Kings, if any one shall here object that, I take it to be no other, whatever some declaratory Expressions may have sound-ed, and seem occasionally to import, (Cases that are ex-tream being alwayes harsh and invidious to be mention-ed;) I say, I take it, in the main, to be no other than that of Allegiance according to Law; and the very Nature of the Thing neither can nor ought to imply more: It would otherwise in effect, in some certain Cases, be an unlawful Oath; at least overthrow, I am sure, our entire Frame and Constitution. And if we speak of this, we may here justly reflect upon the Sa-credness and Solemnity of the Royal Oath of our Kings, in the most High, Pompous, and Glorious sort imagi-nable, made to God and to the People, at the Altar of his Son, for a most Faithful and Legal Administration: Certainly these Oaths ought to be strictly binding on all hands, and God will judge of the Truth and Equity of us all.

There is nothing but what the Wickedness, blind Zeal, or Turbulence of some may pervert and abuse; and very abominable things have too frequently been done in a way of Sedition, and under the pretence of Publick Good, and the Rights of the People, and for

the Cause, as they have said, of God and Religion ; when whatever lesser Provocations they have had, their Measures and Proceedings have been mischievous and unreasonable, nay, barbarous and enormous, and without such a fundamental overthrow of the State, and subversion of all Right, and safety of the Subject, as is here spoken of : When neither the Souls, nor yet the Bodies of Men, with their Fortunes and Estates, were any thing near in that Danger they were in the late Reign amongst our selves ; when the Circumstances of the Nation were truly Critical, and altogether Extraordinary, and both required and allowed an Extraordinary Cure. We were all in a manner in this Sentiment then, and by the Blessing of God both fought and found it.

Nay, some there are so Proud, Factious or Ambitious, and so impatient of any thing against their own Humours, that on very small Pretences they have, in divers Kingdoms, been the Authors or Attempters of great Mischiefs. But for all such I have nothing to say, but for their utter Confusion and Condemnation ; let them reap the fruit of their own wickedness, and answer for all the Evil, and unreasonable Disturbance they have occasioned in the World. God sees, and will judge between the Differences of Men, Times and Seasons ; with the ends and occasions of their Actings ; and there shall ever be a distinction between the proud and aspiring, the ignorant and the fierce, and the more innocent Defenders of the Rights of their Country. In some the whole Acting may be as noble, as in the other corrupt ; and it is not in short the Excesses of some, and Abuses of others, that can infringe, or destroy, what is otherwise any Right or Truth in it self.

And

And so much for the blunting of this Prejudice which may be urged ; the occasions Men have taken, and may take, under pretence of this Principle, of doing wicked and unreasonable things : But there is a difference, as we say, between staring and stark mad ; between the loss of our Coat and our whole Substance ; between a wound in the Arm and in the Vitals of the Body ; between the wresting, or breaking, of one or more Laws, and the entire dissolution of them all at a stroke ; between some lesser Infringements in matter of Religion, and the entire Change, forceably and arbitrarily, of that which is Protestant and Reform'd to Popery. In a word, it can be only said that right is right, and wrong is wrong ; and what is fitting and necessary is fitting and necessary ; but those that do any thing wickedly and unjustly God will judge.

Now this Principle in the general which I here go upon, is so far with all confessedly true, that even the highest Assertors of *Passive-Obedience* do in certain gross Instances allow and confirm it. It is known that such as *Grotius* and *Barclay* are for it ; and our late greatest Writers that way, with Dr. *H——ks* himself, do either openly, or at least tacitly, yield to and acknowledge it. That is to say, they will acknowledge, That if a Prince shall apparently go about to destroy his People ; shall murder, suppose, and butcher them at his Humour and Pleasure ; shall go about to extirpate and sell them unto others ; or shall bring in a Foreign Power to overrun and enslave them ; with such other gross Instances of Rage and Injustice : They will acknowledge, I say, in such Cases as these, that a Prince may be resisted and restrain'd ; and the People stand on their Safety and Defence : As also that they are impowered to take some care of themselves in the case of Phrenzy, Dotage, total

Disability, and such like. And this, so far as I see, by a plain Natural Right, even though they should not have open and express Laws, as Guardians and Assertors of their due Liberties. As the Case will be much more, one would think, plain and clear, where these are from a certain and undoubted prescription evident and known.

But the use which I would chiefly make of what hath been here said, is this ; I would gladly know where in Scripture, and from the Divine Law, they have any such Liberty as this granted them ; and from thence they pretend to fetch the Measures of Duty and Allegiance. If they say that these are such hard Cases, that the Law of Nature it self seems to have a plain right to curb and restrain them ; and that they cannot be supposed to be included in the Scripture Measures of Obedience ; I easily grant it : But then demand further, If that of a Total Subversion, such as I here speak of, and such as was coming on us in the late Reign, be not a hard Case too ? And if that also can be no Warrant for a just self-defence ? If the Scripture hath spoken any thing more of the one than of the other ? Or what Reason can they give, even on their own Hypothesis, why it should not in its place, and according to proportion, (it coming so near to some Cases and Instances given) be acknowledg'd and allow'd ? That *particular* Oppressions, and Male-Administrations of a lower kind, should not be admitted as a just Cause ; besides that the Remedy will in all likelyhood prove worse than the Disease, we shall afterwards find Reasons from the Scripture it self against that ; but none against the Case of a Total Subversion.

We have seen in part whither as well Reason, as the Divine Law, will naturally carry us from the very Principles

ciples and Concessions of these Gentlemen : For the same Warrant, and the same Authority, they can alledge for the one, I will also in a just and near proportion bring for the other ; and both shall be justified from the plain state and necessity of the whole.

And as such Changes as these violent and extraordinary from more common Rules, may be sometimes made, upon Emergencies that are equally extraordinary and violent, so also will this hold for whatsoever parts or circumstantial of them ; as suppose, for the making some necessary Alteration in the Lineal Descent, though as small as may be ; the Calling of a Convention ; and such like. I look upon it to be the Advantage as well as Right of our Government, to be Hereditary ; and the Confusions in *Poland* at this very day may very well make us so much the more sensible of this Truth : But then nothing is to be carried on too far, and with Superstition ; nor that by this means rendered on certain occasions our Mischief, which is otherwise our Advantage ; nor ought it to be ever made any other. It is certain that all Rules of this kind, general and ordinary, are and ought to be established for general and ordinary Cases ; and they are not, 'tis true, lightly to be deviated from : But in this World, and as Men are, it will be impossible but that at Times extraordinary Cases will arise ; and in such extraordinary Measures must arise too ; and 'tis a piece of weakness to think, that in such Points as these, we ought to hopple our selves with our own Chains ; and make our even *good* an Evil to us : As if the Laws of a People for stated Peaceable Times, were not in some extraordinary Junctures variable and alterable, and to be subject to that People ; the Ruling, Collective part, as I may so speak, or Body of them.

It :

It is a common saying, *There is no Rule without an Exception* : And undoubtedly it holds most true here. Nature it self usually is Constant and Regular ; yet sometimes are there great and noted Irregularities, from its ordinary Course : The very Elements seem in Disorder and Confusion, and the face of things is quite different from what is common ; Cities are perhaps struck down and destroyed, the Earth it self moved, and the Course of Rivers and Waters stopped and inverted : And yet after all these, things return at length unto their due Order, and the wonted Regularities are observed. And so also may it be in our present Case ; when extraordinary Junctures and Deviations are over, and such as were really necessary, or thought to be at least highly expedient, let things then return to their wonted Order and Channel. And whatever some Persons in their Notions would be at, such Changes as these both ever and anon have, and will be happening out in Governments and States, while Interest, Oppression, and a regard to Safety, shall be found in the World. But if they be in any thing wicked or unreasonable, let them answer it to God and the World that make them ; I have nothing to do here but with what is just, reasonable, and necessary.

And I cannot also but observe by the way, being on this Subject, how some of our highest Persons for *Passive-Obedience*, and Leaders in our Church, carried it about the time of the Revolution : No Persons in their way did more to favour it, at least the coming in of the then Prince of *Orange*, than themselves did. First, with excellent Prudence they drew up the Three Prayers appointed to be read during the time of publick Apprehensions from the Danger of Invasion, as the Title worded it : There was nothing to discourage, but rather incourage,

rage, the Glorious Undertaking then in hand : Our Religion, Laws, and Antient Government, were expressly pray'd for. Secondly, They offer'd further *Advices* to the King ; the very Heads of the Prince's Declaration, bating, as I remember, the point of the Prince of *Wales*, which in Prudence they omitted, and then Printed them. Thirdly, When earnestly pressed, and that by the King himself, they refused all Abhorrence of the pretended Invasion. And Fourthly, to crown all, They Congratulated to the Prince his Highnesses Success, acknowledged him to be a Great and Glorious Deliverer, and Invited him to the taking the Administration of the Government upon him : And we have not yet forgot the very Persons that carried this Address to him.

Now that Principle, or that Authority, which warranted these and such other Acts, would serve, one would think, to go also farther ; and to comply with what was thought by the Wisdom of the Nation, necessary and warrantable in the Circumstances and Change of the Revolution. And great pity it is, but that those Reverend Persons, and such others like them, and who all along before had acted so worthily, had as readily for their own and others sakes come in to, and complied with it. Both the Goodness of God, and his Illustrious Providence had been the better acknowledged, and as well the Peace of the Church, as Happiness of the Nation, secured and established.

Having proceeded thus far in what I would advance, I shall now, as I have promised, undertake to shew more fully than before, that it is not contrary unto the Holy Scripture. And because the chief place there is in the 13th to the *Romans*, I shall attempt the giving of a due Paraphrase, or short Exposition of that whole place ; and shall then fortifie it from some other Instances of H. Writ.

Thus :

Thus then the Apostle begins the Charge and the Exhortation : *Let every soul be subject to the Higher Powers.*

I shall observe First, in a Preliminary way, That the *Exhortation* throughout is general, and only so.

I observe Secondly, That it is found in this Epistle of *St. Paul* to the *Romans* ; where upon the account of the Imperial Residence being then amongst them, it was the more proper to remind them of this Duty : And would also let the Heathen Governours know, that the Christian Law was not for the countenancing Commotions or Seditions ; but for living Peaceably and Obediently, according unto the Nature of that Government the Providence of God should place them under.

I observe therefore Thirdly, That this was not a Christian but Heathen Government ; nor had they Laws in defence of their Religion and Rights, as by the Blessing of God our selves have ; but on the contrary, the Laws were at that time all against them. They were designed then to propagate and confirm the Glory of the Gospel, so much the more to illustrate its Truth and Power, by their manifold Deaths and Persecutions ; and liv'd under accordingly the great *Roman* Power, and boundless Domination, at that time.

Fourthly, I observe, That in all the Changes and Irregularities of the Empire, which by the Providence of God came to pass, we find not that the first Christians did particularly interest themselves in their Quarrels ; but left the State to decide its own Controversies, and liv'd as peaceably as they could under the present Reigns.

Fifthly, I observe, That though this Exhortation to Obedience was then first given with respect to the *Romans*, yet the Spirit of God will be allowed, I conceive, so to contrive it, as to fit all Governments that Christians should

at any time live under. It will appear in short to have been admirably composed, and put together; and we may safely conclude, that both those that are the Governours, and the People govern'd, are obliged by the Measures herein contained; and we are willing to be concluded by these Rules.

Sixthly, I observe, That considering the great Affair, and Consequence of Government, there is no more said about it by Christ and his Apostles, or of Obedience to it, than one may well expect, and judge necessary, in so perfect a Religion, and compleat Rule of Life as the Christian is. And,

Lastly, I observe, That it hath been thought by many, that some Christians, through a mistake of the Gospel, imagined themselves exempted from the Common Forms and Rules of Government; as if there were now to be no such amongst Christians; and that Magistracy was to cease; or at least that the Church ought only to be subject to such as is Christian: and so they will have the Apostles Injunctions to have a special regard to such as these. However that be, I have done with my general and preliminary Remarks, and will proceed now to a short Comment.

Let every soul be subject to the Higher Powers: That is, let all Persons, high and low, be subject to the Powers which are placed over them; and let them be subject according to the Nature of that Power, or of that Government, they live under. *For there is no Power but of God; the Powers that be, of whatsoever kind, are ordained of God:* They are all of his Permission or Appointment: Such are all those, of whatsoever sort, that have formerly been; such are those in like manner at this day; and that very one in particular which you are now under; and whatsoever others that shall arise hereafter.

D

God,

God, in his Providence, is some way or other the orderer and disposer of all these.

Whoever therefore resisteth the Power, the settled Lawful Power which he is cast under, and that in undue Circumstances, and while it acts but according to its Constitution, resisteth the Ordinance of God; such a Power and Government as God was pleased to permit his to be: And they that resist, after this manner turbulently and unwarrantably, and without sufficient Ground and Authority, shall receive to themselves Damnation; probably here; however they shall be judged for it hereafter: And this so much the more still, if it shall be a Righteous or Tolerable Government.

And that some such Limitations as these are to be put, will appear from those gross and allowed Cases before-mentioned; for otherwise, if a Prince would butcher and cut the Throats of a whole Nation, he is not yet to be restrain'd or resisted; and so in other extremities which might be hinted. And it will appear from the nature and variety of Powers and Governments in the World: All which God hath ordained. *The Powers that be are ordained of God;* whether Absolute or Limited, whether Despotick or Conditional; of what sort or nature soever they be. And accordingly there will result a very different Tye and Obligation in the Subject suitable to the difference of these Powers: And I take it absolutely for a truth, that the Gospel was never intended to destroy Justice, encourage Tyranny, or to take away in these Cases the Natural or the Legal Rights of Men: On the contrary it doth enjoin, and indispensably require from all Persons, all imaginable Humanity, Justice, and Truth. And it is a hard case if God hath ordained various Powers, and yet all are to be observed and obeyed alike: And if Nations can no sooner make choice
of

of a Governour, upon whatever Terms, but they must, if he please, be oppressed by him. A Duke of Venice at this rate may make himself as Absolute, as the French King pretends to be.

But let us proceed. We read quite contrary next, contrary, I mean, to any Evil or Injustice, *For Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil.* This is the very end of their Ruling others, and of their being ordained: And when ever they do otherwise, they degenerate from their Station and Institution. And it is very observable, that this is given here, and so much the same in the next Verse, as the very Ground and Reason, together with that *ver. 1.* why we ought to be thus affectionately and conscientiously subject and obedient unto them; because they *are a terror not to good works, but to the evil.*

All Governments indeed do observe this end in some measure; and there are some good things which if the Subject do he shall have their Protection, but if otherwise their Justice. But this ought not to be only in some common things, but in the Heart and Frame of the Administration; and in matters of the greatest Excellence and Importance; and this especially is expected from the hands of a Christian Ruler and Governour; and particularly when it is according to the just Right and Liberty of the Subject. So that we may see hence, how very wisely and excellently, even in those days, the Apostle, by the Spirit and Direction of the Almighty, hath mixed the great Tie and Duty of the Ruler with that of the People; and hath left Precepts of just and admirable use unto both sides, though the most fully, as it was fit, unto the People to the Worlds end. *For Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil.*

thou then not be afraid of the Power? No that which is good, laudable and commendable, and thou shalt have praise of the same. At least this is that which thou oughtest to have; and in some respects, as I said before, thou meet with it now. However it is the Duty of all Governours, and especially Christian, unto the end of the World.

The Apostle goes on: For he is the minister of God to thee for good. This he ought to be in all matters great and small; and in several particulars he is really so: But if thou do therefore that in any kind which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the Sword in vain; hath not received Power and Government in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil. But unless a Man do evil, he ought not indeed in any thing to suffer, but to receive Praise and Protection from him: And he should be the Minister of God to the People for Good, and not for Evil or Destruction.

Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake. Not for meer Wrath, or for fear of Punishment, but from Conscience and Duty, and from an affectionate Reverence towards good Governours, doing nothing that is truly sinful or evil towards those that are otherwise. And well may we be subject for Conscience sake to such Governours as are here now chiefly intimated, and that are the Ministers of God for so much real Good and Happiness to us. And this will likewise hold for all in proportion to the Benefit of their Reign. It well again follows: For, for this cause pay ye Tribute also: All sorts of Taxes and Contributions, for the due support of their Honour and Dignity, and for the real Safety and Necessities of our Country: For they are Gods ministers, for the Good of the People, attending

sending continually on this very thing. Render therefore unto all their dues, &c. And we have before defcanted on this Verse.

Now this is the place to the Romans at large; and that in the 1. *Pet.* 2. 13, 14. is, though short, yet much like it. And I would desire to know what there is in it on the whole matter, or in all the Scriptures, but that which is Wise, Reasonable and General; nay, even necessary to be prescribed in these matters. But where is that high *Passive-Obedience*, and Doctrine of universal and unlimited *Non-Resistance*, so much spoken of by some, be it with or without Right, be it with absolute Reason and Necessary or without? Or where is the destruction of any Civil, or yet Natural Rights of Men? Rather the encouraging and the countenancing of them.

But the words, you will say, commanding this Obedience, are without limitation or restriction; though perhaps in their own nature and in themselves they are not so, yet so are numerous others in the Holy Scriptures; where all notwithstanding will allow of Exceptions and Qualifications. Let us, if you please, take a short view of them, as they represent the Duty of Children to their Parents, Wives to their Husbands, and Servants to their Masters. *Children obey your Parents in all things, for this is well pleasing unto the Lord, Col. 3. 20. Therefore as the Church is subject unto Christ, so let the Wives be to their own Husbands in every thing, Eph. 5. 24. Servants, obey in all things your Masters, according to the flesh, Col. 3. 22. And again, they are exhorted to be obedient, and to please them well in all things, Tit. 2. 9. with several such, in one kind or another, that might be mentioned.*

But notwithstanding these strict and general Terms, who doth not see, as I have already intimated, that these

there are various Exceptions and Limitations : And when it is said *in all things*, that the meaning is, in all things that are Reasonable, and our Duty : for otherwise we shall be held undoubtedly excused. It is said in the *Fourth Commandment*, that on the Sabbath-day we shall do *no manner of work* : yet that which is necessary is done and allowed. We are exhorted in a certain place to be gentle, and to shew all meekness to all Men, *Tir. 2. 2.* and yet in the same Epistle we are told of some that are to be rebuked sharply, *ch. 1. 13.* *A divine sentence is in the lips of the King ; his mouth transgresseth not in judgment.* And again, *Righteous lips are the delight of Kings ; and they love him that speaketh right, Prov. 16. 10, 13.* That is to say, thus it ought to be, and thus it is oftentimes, but is far from being strictly and universally true : With multitudes of others, and those of various kinds, that might be added.

I mention these only to let us see, that general Terms and Expressions in Scripture are far from being often universally binding ; but that they are to be understood according to the Nature and Reason of Things ; with such a due general sense as they are spoken in and design'd for ; but not to be unreasonably stretched by any. As, *Swear not, again, at all.* And, *Give to him that asketh thee ; and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away, Matth. 5. 34, 42.*

Thus much indeed we will allow in the main Point before us ; as also in those other Instances of Wives, Children, Servants, and the like ; *viz.* That there are very great Obligations between these and their Relatives, especially some of them, and which are not easily or lightly to be broken. Thus, to wave the meer business of Subjection, there is that Tie between Man and Wife, that a great many things are to be born of them, before there

there ought to ensue a Separation or Divorce; there ought to be something very extraordinary before the matter come to either of these: But when such a Case of Extremity is come, and the Sacred Tyes and Ends of Wedlock are fundamentally violated, who doth not know that one or both of them, according to Circumstances, may very reasonably ensue; and be but what is just, safe, and necessary: The solemn Contract and Marriage-Oath is dissolved; notwithstanding that it was made in very general Terms, without any such Condition or Limitation expressed; but it is included in the Scripture, or else in the very Reason and Nature of the Thing. And so for the Oath of Allegiance taken to our Princes; it is, and ought to be, of Allegiance according to Law; and so long as it is either possible, or reasonable, I mean truly so, without Guile or Artifice, to be observed: But when the contrary run high, we must desire to be excused; and, speaking of it at large, there is nothing more common than the taking of New Oaths, backwards and forwards, and changing of Governours, and yet with Innocence and Necessity in some places.

So again for the Relation between Parents and Children: It ought to be something very extraordinary, and what will well bear them out, that can excuse the latter in their *Non-Obedience* or *Resistance*: But if my Father was to come upon me with a naked Sword, I might defend my self; or if otherwise he should be Tyrannical, and altogether Unreasonable, he might be disobeyed, nay resisted and restrained, as need should require: It may be my Duty to fight against my Father in the Field; nay, in some Cases even to discover and deliver him up to a just Authority: Though I need not to have gone so far as this. We know that it is said in Scripture it self, *He that hateth not Father and Mother, &c. Luke 14. 26.*

And

And here it may be observed, and hath been observed, in Vindication of the Memory of our Late Glorious Queen, That of Four great and signal Obligations She may be said to have been under, As to God first and his Holy Truth, her Native Country in which she had Right, to her Husband, and to her Father; that last to her Father is, in this Case, the least of them all; and yet was the only one that some would have her notwithstanding to have observed. Let me only repeat, that nothing that hath been said will excuse us from the bearing many things after all from our Parents; or from paying them the utmost Duty and Observance which we can; and while it is the least Reasonable so to do: And this is easily applyed to that Case of Political Parents and Governours, which is now before us.

So Lastly for the Case of Masters and Servants: *Servants be subject to your Masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward; 1. Pet. 2. 18.*

And so the Apostle goes on excellently to exhort them in the following Verses; and it will well shew, how much is to be born of all such for Duty and Observance sake; and that even Frowardness, Stripes, and some Unreasonable Usage, ought not presently to dissolve the Duty and the Service; but it is to be born for Peace, and out of regard to Humility and the Law Christian. But when all this is said, if matters come to be outrageous or excessive, who will blame Servants for endeavouring to ease and to right themselves? Or is the Apprentice obliged beyond all Law, Covenant or Reason? I still speak of what is Exorbitant and Excessive; and it will all serve to illustrate from the Scriptures the Point before us.

And now further, for Cases of Extremity and Necessity, and some Changes extraordinary from Common Rules,

Rules, not only Nature sometimes deviates from its Course, as we have before heard, but the very *God* of Nature, and of the Divine Law it self, is sometimes pleased, as we shall see, to dispense with his Laws in difficult Cases : As with that for *Circumcision* Forty Years in the Wilderness ; with *Dauids* Eating the *Shew-Bread* in his time of Necessity ; and in general it is said, *I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice* : That is, Indispensable Cases of Charity and Necessity are to take place before outward and positive Observances : And God himself, when not abused, encourageth and allowes of this Rule : Nay, he is found in Scripture to reject the latter, and that with Indignation and Scorn, when without the former ; as if he had not so much as at all requir'd them : *Who hath required this at your hand ? Isa. 1. 12.* And on this same account also it was said by our Saviour, *The Sabbath was made for Man*, (the very Sabbath it self) *and not Man for the Sabbath, Mark 2. 27.* And therefore its outward and superstitious observation (how sacred otherwise soever it be) is not to be exacted in some Circumstances to the neglect of Charity, or some great and extraordinary Prejudice of Men. And certain I am that Governours, as I have said, were made for the People, and not the People for Governours : Though otherwise all imaginable Honour is to be given to them.

We have a Court of Chancery standing amongst our selves to redress the Grievances of the Common Law : Outward Laws cannot always provide against or relieve Prejudice and Wrong. *The Letter*, as speaks the Apostle, though in another Case, *oftentimes killeth*. And it is a known saying, *Summum jus est summa injuria*. The highest Right, according to the Letter and outward Law, is many times the highest Wrong. But these things

things are to be temper'd therefore with Wisdom and Justice : And God himself, as we have seen, allowes of a sort of Chancery in his Word ; not to be abused, but in fitting Cases, and in such alone, to be used by us. As before in the Law, so also may it be said with respect to the Gospel, that the highest Religion, falsely so called, is sometimes the greatest both Mischief and Superstition : And we know that common Expression, *Necessity hath no Law*. Though nothing is to be carried beyond its true end and bounds.

It will not be unseasonable to observe now, That as the *Northern Nations* in general always took a special Care of their Liberties, and were Freer than others, so *England* in particular, with all its Troubles, hath often signalized it self in vindicating and asserting them. And the whole Form of the Government from time to time, with the Laws and Records we have Antient and Modern, as also the Oaths of our Kings at their Coronation, and Manner of their Royal Inaugurations, do all sufficiently shew and demonstrate this. And if some of our Neighbours have lost, or betray'd their proper Privileges, yet is it the just Freedom and Glory of *England*, and I hope will always be so, and no way, as I take it, Inglorious to our Kings and Princes themselves, to have retain'd and establish'd them.

I have further to hint here, That Princes may be sufficiently Evil and Unjust, a Punishment from God, and Plague to the People, and yet not be permitted to proceed unto their utter Overthrow and Ruine.

Let me only add now to all the rest that hath been said on this Argument, That it seems not at all agreeable to the Wisdom, Justice and Goodness of God, to give Princes generally and at large, such an Exorbitant Power over their Fellow-Creatures, as some would pretend to attribute

attribute to them; as if they might Rule and Ride them as they please, and according unto their meer Domination and Lust: And in all things that Proverbial Expression was true, though never so unjust, *Ecc. 8. 4. Where the word of a King is, there is Power, and who can say unto him what dost thou?* Whereas indeed such a Temper and way of Acting as this, is execrable and abominable, in the Eyes as well of God as Man; and he hath often manifested very remarkable Judgments, and that divers ways, on Proud, Wicked, and Unjust Princes. It is he in reality that changeth the Times and the Seasons; that removeth Kings and setteth up Kings; *And those that walk in Pride he is able to abase, Dan. 4. 37.* And thus, *All Dealing shall overthrow the Thrones of the Mighty, Wisd. 5. 23.* We say not that this is always so, or that the Good are never unrighteously afflicted; but thus it doth very frequently happen in the World.

It was the saying of the *Pharisees* in *St. Johns Gospel, Ch. 7. 49. But this People who knoweth not the Law are cursed.* It was spoken wickedly by them, and they were themselves Cursed in that wherein they pronounced the Sentence on others. But in a due Sense it may be well applied to some Nations of the World under Arbitrary and Tyrannical Rulers: They are blind, wicked, degenerate, and besotted, and so God gives them over to be ruled, and to be used accordingly by their Governours: But were they wiser and better, they would soon either find their Princes juster, or Influence them at the least to the ways of Moderation, Equity and Peace. There is a difference when God calls us plainly unto Suffering, and when our own Divisions, Weakness, and Superstition, betray us to it; which I only note by the by; and conclude, That Mankind being so wicked and corrupt,

no wonder that God permits them, both at home and abroad, to oppress and destroy one another as they do.

I have done now with the main Argument ; and submit what I have said to the Judgment of my Superiours, and of the Church of God. I write, I bless God, with no ill Design, nor in the least to encourage a Seditious Spirit, which my Soul abhors ; but as I really take the Case in due Circumstances to be. There have been a great many good and excellent things said, for the Satisfaction of the Scrupulous, upon this Argument since the Revolution. And I doubt not but many of them have reach'd their end : But this is that here which, if receiv'd, will strike it down with a stroke ; and Fundamentally do the work on this Subject. And for my own part, I heartily wish it was a Principle universally allow'd and imbrac'd. I know of none it can be of harm to, but wild, wicked, or exorbitant Princes ; and that make not the least Conscience of the Rights of the Subject : It would be a just Awe to these, but to the good or tolerable, as it ought to be indeed, Peaceful and Secure : Though by how much Princes are in all respects juster and better, undoubtedly it is the happier, and the more glorious for both themselves and their Subjects.

We have a Prince now our selves deservedly to be Valued and Honour'd by us ; and whose Glory it is to have deliver'd us from Oppression, and to govern us deliver'd with Justice and Judgment. The Difficulties we have been in, and the Things we have suffer'd, have arisen evidently from our selves, and from our Enemies abroad, but not from his good and righteous Government ; and may we be long Glorious and Happy in him. He is Trusted as well as Honoured by our Allies abroad, the Spring and Soul of the League, and Bulwark of both

our own, and the Rights of *Europe*: A Bridle to the Oppressor, and a Hook, as it is said, in the Nose of that great Leviathan of *Christendom*; and may he return at length laden with the Spoils of Peace and Honour.

He that is so Great and Glorious abroad, ought justly to be Admir'd and Rever'd at home. And particularly, let us that are of the Church, be no way wanting in Love, Honour, and Duty towards him. Let us be hearty and affectionate as to the Church, so at the same time to our Prince and Government too; and we can never fail of Honour and Success: Our Pious, excellent Mother, and best of Churches, shall flourish under him, and, as it deserves, so shall it always be the Praise and Glory of the *English* Nation. But let not any of us be cold in our Duty or Affection; or think that the Interest of the Church we are of lyes in the Heights and Stiffnesses of some: Nor let us be unreasonably jealous and discontented, if all things go not just according to our Minds; and of which our selves perhaps are the chief occasion: Nothing can mischief us but dividing the Interest of the Church and Government; and *William* the Third Reigning, no part of his Subjects, that are reasonable or tolerable, need to fear the being aggrieved or oppressed by him.

I speak the more freely of the Subject I here treat of, as being under a Prince Just and Generous, and one that abhors Tyranny, and the barbarous universal Oppression of the Subject; or, the truth is, of any part, or parts of them. And however some may call, or account of him, as King *de facto*, if they mean by it, that he is not at this time our Real, Rightful and Lawful King, or that any other now hath the least Right or Title to the Crown, I am far from joyning with them in the Term; and think that the Expression is false and scandalous, and

and must do our Church mischief in the Eyes of the Government : Sure I am, it is contrary altogether to my Hypothesis ; according unto which, as the People have a just Right in certain due Cases of laying aside a Prince, so also to choose another in his Room, whether strictly in a direct Succession or no : The Wisdom of the Nation, and the extraordinary Juncture must determine that. And I look upon the Prince that is thus Chosen, to be so far from having a less Right, that he hath rather a greater Right to the Crown than any other ; as being so peculiarly and explicitly Elected to it. And if these things were generally acknowledged, as I could wish they were, I think this Matter would be rightly bounded, the People secured in their just Liberties, their Consciences as well as their Oppressions eased, and as all Factionousness and Seditiousness, so Exorbitant Tyranny reprobated and excluded.

It cannot be expected that in a matter of so nice a Nature, and inveterate a Prejudice as this is, I should be able to prevail with fix'd Men on the other side : It will be as much as can be expected, to make some Impressions on the sober and considerate. But whatsoever it doth on any, I only beg of all this, Justice and Candour, that, as I said before, I may not be thought to write from any wilful Spirit of Pride, Errour, or of Singularity ; but from a great sense of Justice, Charity and Humanity, and of the Publick Rights and Liberties of Men ; and so as to fix in these Cases the Bounds, as far as may be, of Truth and Equity.

It may be thought possibly and expected by some, that I should have fortified my Principles by some Reading and Authorities ; and I could, if I had pleased, or would have been at the Pains, have amass'd together some of these. But if what I say be Truth and Reason,

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I the less matter Testimonies and Quotations of this kind. And certainly altogether we are not to hang on the Lips of others, though Pious otherwise and Learned Persons; and I know of no cause to think, that in such Matters as these we must never exceed what hath been said before by many: For this is far from being altogether New or Heterodox: And not only the late Primate, with several more, as we are assur'd by a Prelate that knew, were of this Sentiment, but Bishop King in his full and excellent Account of the State of Ireland during the late Reign, and at the Revolution, hath briefly, yet handsomely espoused and established it.

I have not indeed, as he, with respect to *England*, made particularly out that there was a Total and Fundamental Subversion in the late Reign coming on us; and what an actual Advance there had been made in it. For it hath been so often done, and is so well known and remembred, that I thought it needless altogether to give my self or the Reader that trouble. However, as occasion was, I have hinted it. And let but my main Argument and Hypothesis be allow'd, and I shall leave it to all to judge of the Fitness and Propriety of the Application.

But 'tis time now to come to a Conclusion; and I have already been longer than I first intended, as designing the greatest Brevity imaginable: For I am well aware how these, and such other things, are apt to swell on the Hands of those that write them. The capable and unprejudiced will see what is driven at in this Brevity, and perhaps be edified; but for others, a Volume would increase, but not lessen their Prejudices and Dislikes. I know it is very short of a just Tract; but *valet quantum valere potest*, and I am an Enemy to long and tedious Writing on every Subject.

I will

I will only hint this in short ; That if any Laws of our own at any time made, shall seem to be contrary to this Tenter ; if the Case and Carriage of the Primitive Christians under any of the Emperours shall be pleaded ; if it shall be pretended to symbolize and fall in with the Popish Doctrine of Deposing Kings ; or if Scriptures here not taken notice of shall be urged ; I doubt not, if need were, or I would insist upon it, to give a very free, and sufficient Answer unto all of them : But I list not here particularly to enter upon it ; and you see, Sir, the Trouble I have already been now bold to give you : Do with it as you please. I am abruptly now, Dearest Sir,

Yours, &c.

F I N I S

ERRATA.

Page 6. line 17. read yet I am not for *Katruus*, p. 10. l. 29. r. *by*, p. 11. l. 26.
r. and to *obscure* *justice*, p. 12. l. 11. dele *it*, p. 16. l. 12. r. *Reign*.